1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

[P. x contains no textual material]

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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat faxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93.
[7] Meyer 1897, Plate I.
[8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180.
[10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

/127 cont./

B T 103 133 T [361] luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluëne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluëne and Ronuro, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluëne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluëne. Even the Trumaí live below the Kulisehu mouth; farther up on the Kuluëne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu in the village visited by us.

Y T [131]

Vogel and Perrot had bad weather. On account of the cloud cover, the astronomical latitude could not be determined either at the mouth of the Kulisehu or in Koblenz. The Kuluëne was 241 meters wide below the Kulisehu mouth, 289 meters somewhat above it. From Koblenz they had gone up the Ronuro, had passed the Batovy mouth in a scant half hour -- where on 30 August 1884 we had emerged from the endlessly winding forest stream and for the first time were able to enjoy with some certainty the hope that we had actually found the Schingú -- and had finally continued the journey on the Ronuro for two kilometers farther upstream. The Ronuro had an average width of 250 meters and a depth of three to six meters; the Kuluëne, above Koblenz, measured only 187 meters and the main river at our sandy beach, 366 meters.

B 122 If we did not wish to jeopardize all of our success, the thought of traveling up the Kuluëne and visiting the other Nahuquá villages was completely out of the question. The rainy period had set in in earnest, the journey upstream was becoming